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# Debates & Resolutions

OF THE

## French King's Council of War,

HELD AT

# M A R L I

The 26th. ult, 1693.

Present	{	Lewis XIV.	{	Marq. de Boufflers.
		Madam de Maintenon.		Count of Montal.
		Father La Chaise.		Marq. of Barbezieux.
		Duke of Luxemburgh.		Mounf. de Port Chartrain.

Wherein these Five Articles were nicely Discus'd.

- I. Whether France was in a Condition to continue the War.
- II. Whether the King should make this Summers Campaign in Person.
- III. Whether he should Act this Year Offensively or Defensively, both by Sea and Land.
- IV. Whether he should give the Command of an Army to the Dauphine.
- V. Whether they should send King James into Italy, or attempt an Invasion of England, to endeavour his Restoration to the Throne.

With the Council of War's Result thereupon.

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*Translated out of the Original, Printed at Amsterdam.*

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With Brief Remarks on each Article.

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**I**T is a True and Old Maxim, That those who ordinarily Practice Tricks and Finesses, to disguise themselves, and their Design, from the Cognizance of others, and leave no way unattempted to discover the Secrets of other Men, do many times lead themselves into a Maze out of their own Knowledge, and become obvious to the Eyes of their Enemies. As we have lately an undeniable Instance, in the Management of the present French

King, who, whilst he thought he was in a Mist, and by his Spies, in all France, was made known to the Knowledge of their most Secret Intriguers, was in the mean time, out-done in his own Measures, and his Cabinet Councils divulged, by whom, or what means, he is never like to know.

As we find by a late publick Relation, in Print in Holland, in French, wherein an Account is given to this Tenor.

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That



**T**hat on the 26<sup>th</sup> of the last Month, the Monarch of France held a great Council of War at *Marli*; where were present, the King himself, *Madam de Maintenon*, *Father la Chaise*, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, the Marquesses of *Boufflers* and *Malaurier*, the Count of *Montal*, the Marquess of *Barbeseux*, and Monsieur de *Port Chartrain*. The Last laid Five Articles on the Board.

The First to Consider, *Whether France was in a Condition to continue the War?*

The Second, *Whether the King should make this Campaign in Person?*

The Third, *Whether he should act this Year Offensively, or Defensively, both by Sea and Land?*

The Fourth, *Whether he should give the Command of an Army to the Dauphine?*

And the Fifth, *Whether they should send King James into Italy, or attempt an Invasion of England, to endeavour his Restoration to the Throne?*

All these Points were strongly disputed Pro and Con.

As to the First, Monsieur de *Port Chartrain*, Superintendent of the Treasury, affirmed, That the Treasures of the Kingdom were quite exhausted, and that it was impossible to find a Fund to maintain the War two Years longer: And that the Famine begun to be general throughout the Kingdom; and if the next Harvest proved no better than the last, they could not furnish the Magazines for another Years Campaign. This ingenious Declaration of so knowing a Minister, disgusted the King extremely; who, falling into an exorbitant Passion, declared, That his Design could not be reached, but by Force of Arms; wherefore, he was resolved to continue the War, though all his Subjects should be forced to sell their Beds, and lye on Straw.

The Second held the Board in a long debate: Some were of Opinion, That the King ought to

appear at the Head of his Army, to encourage his Souldiers by his Presence: But this, *Madam de Maintenon*, in whom that King puts intire Confidence in his most private Intrigues, strongly opposed it; affirming, That the Head of a State was as the Center and Loadstone; and that, by consequence, the presence of the Prince, was most necessary in or near the Capital City, or Center of the Kingdom; especially, at a time, when they had reason to fear their Enemies would make a Strong and Forceable Invasion, upon which, great Insurrections and Revolts would undoubtedly follow; the Countries being filled with Murmurings and Complaints of the present Government. If Pompey the Great (said she) had not abandon'd the City of Rome, Caesar could not have found so easie a Reception there. Wherenpon, the Duke of *Luxembourg* said, The King had no reason to fear any thing within the Kingdom; That the Frontier Cities were well guarded, and that the Ban, and Arrier Ban, joyned with the Thousand Souldiers, which the Marquess de *Barbeseux* had chosen out of the Hospitals, were sufficient to guard the Coasts against any Descent: To which *Madam de Maintenon* replied, We may indeed expect Wonders, in our Defence from the Ban and Arrier-Ban, composed of Gentry and Peasants, neither well armed nor disciplin'd; who, at the first noise of a Cannon, or an English Shout, would take their Heels, and leave their Arms behind them. And as to *Barbeseux's* Lame Guard, they were by the Country look'd upon as a Drunken, Debauch'd Crew, sent amongst them to pick their Purses; nay, Bones too, rather than contribute to their Security, against a Foreign Descent.

The Third Point was presently decided; viz. *Whether they should act Offensively, or Defensively, both by Sea and Land.* All agreed, That, whereas they had reason to fear the least ill Success this Campaign; so ought they to be jealous, lest the Traitors, and Spies, lately taken in *Holland*, *Flanders*, and other Places, had discovered the Projects and Plots, which they had formerly agreed to put into immediate Execution: It was therefore advised, by the Councils (which, the King said, might be fitly called the PERVERS) to attaque some place in *Flanders*, before the Allies could begin the Campaign; thereby to find,



find, whether the Match was discovered; and then, as they found Things, they might proceed to the Management of Affairs both at Sea and Land.

As to the *Fourth* Point, the King, who hath always present in Mind the Pamphlet of the *Dauphin's Toilet*, about two years since; telling him, That no Peace could be expected, except he took the Government upon him, his Father having so often broke his Word, as had forfeited his Reputation both at Home and Abroad. This putting the King in extream Confusion, every one was sly to give his Opinion; At which the King, seeming surprized, asked Father *la Chaise*, what he thought of the matter; to which the *Jesuit* answered, That every Father (especially a great Monarch) ought to have a watchfull Eye over his Heir and Successour.

As to the *Fifth* Article, which concerned *King James*; they thought it convenient to leave the final Determination of it, to the opening of the Campaign; But all concluded, after many Contestations, that it would be best to send him to *Rome*, thereby to avoid the great Charge of maintaining him; and throw it upon the Pope, who might, in reason and Charity, maintain so great a *Profelyte* of that *Sea*: For, as to make a *Descent* in *England*, it was neither probable nor possible; for all the Hopes of the *Jacobite* Party in *England* was Chimerical; and what Expectation they had of *Dissenters*, and *Commonwealth Parties*, making Divisions between King *William*, and his *Parliament*, were clearly vanished; that *Prince*, *Parliament*, and *People*, being more firmly than ever, united in the Bonds of Love, Allegiance, and Interest.

### Remarks on the aforesaid Articles.

WE shall only subjoyn some few Remarks on the above Results. As to the *French King's* Answer to Monsieur *Port Chartrain*, that his Designs could not be reach'd, but by Force of Arms; is a very great Voice of Truth from *Grand Lewis's* Oracle. The Ambition of that

aspiring Prince being no ways to be satisfied, but by Universal Empire, a very difficult Work for his Sword to cut through, and to which design, so many very malignant Planets now in his Ascendant, seem so directly opposite, that we have all the reasonable Prospects of Hopes, that Providence has no such Universal Plague and Scourge of Mankind in Reserve, as their Subjection to a *French Yoke*. And Monsieur *Port Chartrain's* Observation of his exhausted Treasury, is not so much our Wonder, nor that the general Famine already so highly Threatned in *France*, (the *Fat Clergy* being already enjoyn'd the Care and Support of the leaner *Laitie*) is possibly one of the greatest and most formidable Checks to the present too spreading growth of *Fränge*. And as to the *French* Inability of overmuch longer continuing the War, we may safely say, that however unsatisfied he may be in his Thirst of Universal Empire, he has had his Belly full of the Fatigue and Charge of attempting it.

To the second Debate, so strenuously argued by his fair She-State-Counsellor Madam *Maintenon*, concerning the necessary Obligation of the *French Kings* personal Continuance within his own *French* Dominions, for the Preservation, as well of the Publick, as his own Safety, in case of any Invasion, &c. We must first Remark, of our great most Christian Son of Mother Church, that he follows the Example of a once famous Pastoral Father of the same Ecclesiastick Infallability, that he keeps a fair commanding *Olympia* at the Helm, a Feminine soft Hand for the steering of Empire. And Secondly, that this *Gallick Olympia* has wisely and prudently express'd this extraordinary Zeal for her great *Louis's* personal Security, under a double Concern and Tenderness, as well for her own Sake, as his: Nor is her humble Opinion of his *Ban* and *Arrier bans Frowes* and *Paissance*, any unreasonable Judgment upon that not over *Martial French Cattle*: Nor will such Paper, or rather Cobweb-Bullwarks, be any great Fence or Obstacle against an *English Invasion*.

To the third Point, *Whither an Offensive or Defensive Campaign*, both by Sea and Land this Year. The Concurrence of their whole Consult in their choice of the Latter, as more agreeing with their



present Circumstances of Affairs, seems to be fully concluded, when we find so extraordinary a Sloth in their present Preparations, compared with their more wondrous Expedition and Activity in former earlier Campaigns; an Argument of the Declension of their Glory, and Drooping of their Cause, (there being undoubtedly no good Will wanting in that kind, however their Power may fall short in this Years out-starting of the *Confederates*;) nor do we find even the great *Lewis* himself over-hasty in his immediate Attempt and surprize threatned upon some Town in *Flanders*; considering the present Advance of the Year with so little a Face of *French* Hostilities, inso-much that we have reason to suspect himself too much inclined to his own *Perverse Council*, in no forwarder a Progression: But to give him the fairest Interpretation, We have reason to acknowledge an extraordinary Providence in the present Backwardness of the Spring, and Indisposition of the Season, so highly favourable to the *Allies*, and on the other side, so prejudicial to any Starts or Surprizes from *France*, that might otherwise have been suspected.

To the fourth Point, *The French Kings Jealousie of the Dauphin, and La Chaise's prudent Advice upon it.* We must here observe the *French Kings* Caution and Suspicion to be very highly Reasonable. For if he believes the *Dauphin* to be of his own begetting, his own natural Veins, and thereby indued with his own Aspiring and Insatiate Thirst of Empire, and but looks home into himself, and considers how little and feeble Barrs the most solemn Engagements of Honours, Obligations, Leagues, Treaties, Alliances; nay, Oaths and Sacraments themselves, have been to his own too soaring Ambition, he has too much Ground to fear that a Chip of the same Block will not be over-strongly held by the Bonds either

of Nature, or Duty, if Power and Opportunity gave him but a fair Occasion of cutting so weak a Gordian. Nor has he less Occasion of doubting an equal Inclination in his own oppress'd Subjects, those miserable Vassals, of embracing any favourable Offer of a Change, for their Release from so long and so heavy a Yoke; in whom we may justly say, if there be any Remains of Fidelity to so burdensom a Tyrant, that the length of their Servitude has only inured them to the bearing of it, and therefore, as they never knew any Better, their Ignorance only is the Mother of their little Devotion for him, if any such they have.

As to the fifth and last Article, *Relating to King James, and their Determination of sending that unfortunate Prince, as a poor Pensioner, in his Grey Hairs to the Pontifical Colledge, an Attendant and Dependant upon Allowance and Charity*, and all to save Charges, and spare his own Spoon: This last Result does so plainly discover our great *Gallican Lucifers* Hoof, enough to make the whole World blush for him, if his own Complexion be too gross to take that Tincture. An Ingratitude like this, we hope no Chronicle can, or ever will equal; and we can do our great *Lewis* no higher Justice, than for this single thought to acknowledge him an Original: For as that Prince's unhappy bitter Draught was in a manner wholly mixt by *Lewis's* own Hand; as his Fall and Ruine were so highly owing to the *French* Councils and Measures, his ever too Potent, too Governing, and too Fatal Guides. As *Lewis* has been so leading a Cause, and so notorious an Instrument in poor *James's* undoing. It's very hard to envy Misery of his own making, so poor a Pittance of Charity under his own Roof: 'Tis a little unkind to reduce prosperity and Glory, like the Prodigals Fate, to Scraps and Husks, and even grutch him them too.

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